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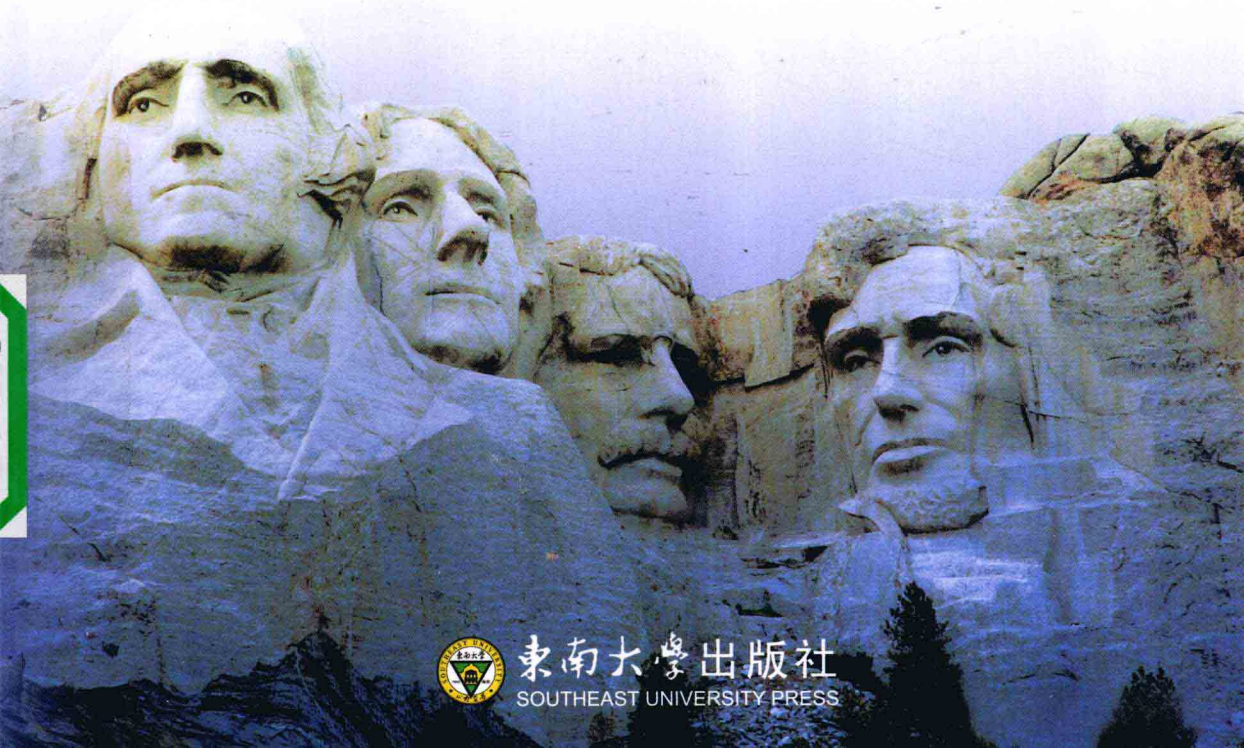
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历届美国总统

郑家顺◎主编

就职演说



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就职演说



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历届美国总统 就职演说 前言



一本好书如同一座随行的漂亮花园(A good book is like a beautiful garden carried in the pocket.)。

古人云:“读书破万卷,下笔如有神。”可见读书的重要性。“熟读唐诗三百首,不会作诗也会吟”,因此读好书尤为重要。

《历届美国总统就职演说》不愧为英语阅读中的精品。每一篇总统就职演说词需经过撰稿人字斟句酌,因此语言铿锵、词句华美、逻辑严密;不仅展现了总统的个人风采,而且表达了总统的雄才大略和美好期望;内容涵盖美国生活的多个层面,可以说是美国社会、政治、文化的发展史,更是英语语言千年生活的结晶。

花点时间细细品味,不但可以突破传统英语学习窘境,洞察美国国家生活动态,了解国际政治、经济,快速提高英语口语,轻松提高英语(四六级、专业四八级、国外考试)写作水平,更可以感悟社会、感悟人生,从中体会“读总统就职演说——轻松学英语”的乐趣。

为方便阅读,“演说词”采用英汉对照排版,并加上标题与简介,这样就给您省去了“查资料、问老师”等的不必要麻烦。

★欢迎本书读者光临“郑家顺英语博客”(http://blog.sina.com.cn/zhengjiashun)!

这里既有作者在英语学习、教学中的一些心得体会,也有“英语专业四八级、大学英语四六级、考研英语”等考前做题技巧以及最新试卷及答案,希望能对您的英语学习有所帮助;同时也希望能借此收到更多的反馈与意见,让我们一起进步,感谢您的参与!

郑家顺

E-mail: zhengjiashunblog@sina.com

历届美国总统 就职演说 目录

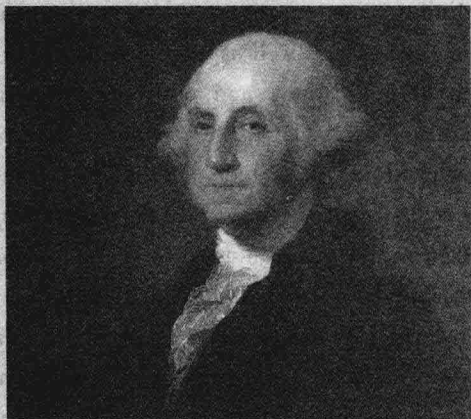


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乔治·华盛顿:美利坚合众国奠基人,首任总统(1789年)。美国历史上唯一以全部选举人票两次当选的总统。任满后拒绝三连任,传为历史佳话。本篇表达了他在结束隐退、出山任职时的惶恐心情,和他要在君主大国控制的世界上进行共和制“实验”的决心。

就职典礼原定3月4日在临时首都纽约举行,由于交通不便,华盛顿4月中旬才接到当选通知,所以不得不延至4月30日举行。



George Washington

乔治·华盛顿(1732-1799)

1st President of the United States (1789-1797)

Political Party: Federalist

The Experiment Entrusted to the Hands of the American People 美国人民的实验

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives:

Among the vicissitudes incident to life no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month. On the one hand, I was summoned by my Country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering

参议院和众议院的公民们:

在人生沉浮中,没有一件事能比本月十四日收到你们送达的通知更使我焦虑不安。一方面,国家召唤我出任总统一职,对于她的召唤,我只能肃然从命。而隐退是我以挚爱心情、满腔希望和坚定决心所选择的暮年归宿,由于爱好

hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years—a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence one who (inheriting inferior endowments from nature and unpracticed in the duties of civil administration) ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions all I dare aver is that it has been my faithful study to collect my duty from a just appreciation of every circumstance by which it might be affected. All I dare hope is that if, in executing this task, I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens, and have thence too little consulted my incapacity as well as disinclination for the weighty and untried cares before me, my error will be palliated by the motives which mislead me, and its consequences be judged by my country with some share of the partiality in which they originated.

Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that His benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States a Government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success the functions allotted

和习惯,且时光流逝,健康渐衰,时感体力不济,越来越感到隐退的必要和珍贵。另一方面,国家召唤我担负的责任如此巨大而艰巨,足以使国内最有才智和经验的人度德量力,而我天资愚钝,又没有民政管理的经验,应该倍觉自己能力的不足,因此必然感到难以担此重任。怀着这种矛盾的心情,我唯一敢断言的是,通过正确估计可能产生影响的各种情况来恪尽职责,乃是我忠贞不渝的努力目标。我唯一敢祈望的是,如果我在执行这项任务时因沉溺于往事,或因由衷感激公民们对我高度的信赖,因而过分受到了影响,以致在处理从未经历过的大事时,忽视了自己的无能和消极,我的错误将会出于使我误入歧途的各种动机而减轻,而大家在评判错误的后果时,也会适当包涵产生这些动机的偏见。

既然这就是我在遵奉公众召唤就任现职时的感想,那么,在此宣誓就职之际,如不热情地祈求全能的上帝将是一件非常不当的事,因为上帝统治着宇宙,主宰着各国政府,它的神助能弥补人类的任何不足。愿上帝赐福,保佑一个为了美国人民的自由和幸福而组建的政府,保佑它为这些基本目的而作出奉献,保佑政治的各项行政措施在我负



to his charge. In tendering this homage to the Great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own, nor those of my fellow-citizens at large less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the Invisible Hand which conducts the affairs of men more than those of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency; and in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities from which the event has resulted cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established without some return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

By the article establishing the executive department it is made the duty of the President "to recommend to your consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." The circumstances under which I now meet you will acquit me from entering into that subject further than to refer to the great constitutional charter under which you are assembled, and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute, in place of a recommendation

责之下都能成功地发挥作用。我相信,在向公众利益和私人利益的伟大缔造者献上这份崇敬时,这些话也同样表达了各位和广大公民的心声。没有人能比美国人更坚定不移地承认和崇拜掌管人类事务的上帝。他们在迈向独立国家的进程中,似乎每走一步都有某种天佑的迹象;他们在刚刚完成的联邦政府体制的重大改革中,如果不是因虔诚的感恩而得到某种回报,如果不是谦卑地期待着过去有所预示的赐福的到来,那么,通过众多截然不同的集团的平静思考和自愿赞同来完成改革,这种方式是难以同大多数政府在组建过程中所采用的方式相比的。在目前转折关头,我产生这些想法确实是深有所感而不能自己。我相信大家会和我怀有同感,即如果不仰仗上帝的力量,一个新生的自由政府就无法做到一开始就事事如意。

根据设立行政部门的条款,总统有责任“将他认为必要而适宜的措施提请国会审议”。但在目前与各位见面的这个场合,恕我不进一步讨论这个问题,而只是提一下伟大的宪法,它使各位今天欢聚一堂,它规定了各位的权限,指出了各位应该注意的目标。在这样的场合,更恰当、也更能反映我内心激情的做法不是提出具体措施,而是称颂将

of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In these honorable qualifications I behold the surest pledges that as on one side no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests, so, on another, that the foundation of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality, and the preeminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens and command the respect of the world. I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire, since there is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists in the economy and course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness; between duty and advantage; between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right which Heaven itself has ordained; and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered, perhaps, as deeply, as finally, staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

Besides the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the fifth article of the Constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them. Instead of undertaking

要规划和采纳这些措施的当选者的才能、正直和爱国心。我从这些高贵品格中看到了最可靠的保证：其一，任何地方偏见或地方感情，任何意见分歧或党派敌视，都不能使我们偏离全局观念和公平观点，即必须维护这个由不同地区和不同利益所组建的大联合政权；因此，其二，我国的政策将会以纯正不移的个人道德原则为基础，而自由政府将会以赢得民心 and 全世界尊敬的一切特点而显示其优越性。我对国家的一片热爱之心激励着我满怀喜悦地展望这幅远景，因为根据自然界的法则和发展趋势，在美德与幸福之间，责任与利益之间，恪守诚实宽厚的政策与获得社会繁荣幸福的硕果之间，有着密不可分的关系；因为我们应该同样相信，上帝亲自规定了永恒的秩序和权利法则，他绝不可能对无视这些法则的国家慈颜含笑；因为人们理所当然地、满怀深情地、也许是最后一次地把维护神圣的自由之火和共和制政府的命运，系于美国人所遵命进行的实验上。

除了提请各位注意的一般事务外，在当前时刻，根据激烈反对共和制的各种意见的性质，或根据引起这些意见的不同程度，在必要时行使宪法第五条授予的权利究竟有多大益处，将依靠你们来加以



particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good; for I assure myself that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of an united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience, a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen and a regard for the public harmony will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question how far the former can be impregably fortified or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

To the foregoing observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the House of Representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible. When I was first honored with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed; and being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline as inapplicable to myself any share in the personal emoluments which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department, and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which I am placed may during my continuance in it be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

Having thus imparted to you my sentiments as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without

判断和决定。在这个问题上,我无法从过去担任过的职务中得到借鉴,因此我不提具体建议,而是再一次完全信任各位对公众利益的辨别和追求;因为我相信,各位只要谨慎,避免作出任何可能危及团结而有效的政府利益的修订,或避免作出应该等待未来经验教训的修订,那么,各位对自由人特有权利的尊重和对社会安定的关注,就足以影响大家慎重考虑应在何种程度上坚定不移地加强前者,并有利无弊地促进后者。

除上述意见外,我还要补充一点,而且觉得向众议院提出最恰当。这条意见与我有关,因此应当尽量讲得简短一些。我第一次荣幸地响应号召为国家效劳时,正值我国为自由而艰苦奋斗之际,我对我的职责的看法要求我必须放弃任何俸禄。我从未违背过这一决定。如今,促使我作出这一同样决定的想法仍然支配着我,因此,我必须拒绝对我来说不适宜的任何个人津贴,因为这些津贴可能被列入并成为政府部门常设基金不可分割的一部分。同样,我必须恳求各位,在估算我就任这个职位所需要的费用时,可以根据我的任期以公共利益所需的实际费用为限。

我已经把有感于这一聚会场合的想法告诉了各位,现在我就要向大家告辞;但在此



历届美国总统就职演说

resorting once more to the benign Parent of the Human Race in humble supplication that, since He has been pleased to favor the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquility, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government for the security of their union and the advancement of their happiness, so His divine blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this Government must depend.

以前,我还要再一次以谦卑的心情祈求仁慈的上帝给予帮助。因为承蒙上帝的恩赐,美国人民有了深思熟虑的机会,有了为确保联邦的安全和促进幸福,用前所未有的一致意见来决定政府体制的意向;因而,同样明显的是,上帝将保佑我们逐步扩大眼界,稳定地进行协商,并采取明智的措施,而这些都是本届政府取得成功所必不可缺少的依靠。

陈寅恪,《清华园日记》

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约翰·亚当斯:美国第2任总统(1797—1801),美国形成两党后第一次由政党提名参加竞选的总统,也是最长寿的美国总统之一(享年90岁)。本篇发表于临时首都纽约。



John Adams

约翰·亚当斯(1735-1826)

2nd President of the United States (1797-1801)

Political Party: Federalist

The Constitution and System of Government 宪法和政治体制

When it was first perceived, in early times, that no middle course for America remained between unlimited submission to a foreign legislature and a total independence of its claims, men of reflection were less apprehensive of danger from the formidable power of fleets and armies they must determine to resist than from those contests and dissensions which would certainly arise concerning the forms of government to be instituted over the whole and over the parts of this extensive country. Relying, however, on the purity of their intentions, the justice of their cause, and

首先,当有识之士第一次认识到,美利坚不可能在无限制屈从于外国立法机构与主张完全独立之间采取中庸之道时,他们并不害怕必须下定决心抵抗令人生畏的强大舰队和军队,而是担忧在我国广大领土上实行何种政体来管理全国及其各个州的这一问题必然会引起争论和分歧。但是,这个国家的代表们,当

the integrity and intelligence of the people, under an overruling Providence which had so signally protected this country from the first, the representatives of this nation, then consisting of little more than half its present number, not only broke to pieces the chains which were forging and the rod of iron that was lifted up, but frankly cut asunder the ties which had bound them, and launched into an ocean of uncertainty.

The zeal and ardor of the people during the Revolutionary War, supplying the place of government, commanded a degree of order sufficient at least for the temporary preservation of society. The Confederation which was early felt to be necessary was prepared from the models of the Batavian and Helvetic confederacies, the only examples which remain with any detail and precision in history, and certainly the only ones which the people at large had ever considered. But reflecting on the striking difference in so many particulars between this country and those where a courier may go from the seat of government to the frontier in a single day, it was then certainly foreseen by some who assisted in Congress at the formation of it that it could not be durable.

Negligence of its regulations, inattention to its recommendations, if not disobedience to its authority, not only in individuals but in States, soon appeared with their melancholy consequences—universal languor, jealousies and rivalries of States, decline of navigation and commerce,

时人数还不到现在的一半,凭着自己出发点的纯洁和自己事业的正义感。依靠人民的团结和智慧,从一开始就格外护佑这个国家的上帝的指引下,不仅砸碎了正在炼制的镣铐和向他们举起的钢鞭,而且毅然切断了捆绑他们的绳索,开始向动荡不定的海洋进发。

在革命战争期间(即1775-1783年美国独立战争),人民的热诚和奋发奠定了政府的地位,保持了至少足以暂时维持社会的某种秩序。人民最初感到有必要建立邦联时,是根据巴达维亚和海尔维希的邦联模式进行筹备的。(巴达维亚是雅加达旧称,指17世纪的荷属东印度群岛;海尔维希指13世纪末在永久同盟旧称上形成的瑞士联邦,今为瑞士西北部一地区)。它们是历史上仅有地、详细而确凿地实行邦联制的例子,而且无疑也是到那时为止全人类曾经考虑采用邦联制的唯一例子。但是,考虑到美国与它们在许多具体问题上的显著区别,例如在这些国家,邮差在一天之内便可从政府所在地抵达边陲,因此,邦联国会的某些筹备者必然预见到这种政体不可能持久。

很快,不仅有一些人,而且有一些州,开始无视政府的规定和不听政府的建议。这些现象即便不是反抗政府的权威,也造成了令人忧郁的后



discouragement of necessary manufactures, universal fall in the value of lands and their produce, contempt of public and private faith, loss of consideration and credit with foreign nations, and at length in discontents, animosities, combinations, partial conventions, and insurrection, threatening some great national calamity.

In this dangerous crisis the people of America were not abandoned by their usual good sense, presence of mind, resolution, or integrity. Measures were pursued to concert a plan to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty. The public disquisitions, discussions, and deliberations issued in the present happy Constitution of Government.

Employed in the service of my country abroad during the whole course of these transactions, I first saw the Constitution of the United States in a foreign country. Irritated by no literary altercation, animated by no public debate, heated by no party animosity, I read it with great satisfaction, as the result of good heads prompted by good hearts, as an experiment better adapted to the genius, character, situation, and relations of this nation and country than any which had ever been proposed or suggested. In its general principles and great outlines it was conformable to such a system of government as I had ever most esteemed, and in some States, my own native State in

果——意志普遍消沉、州与州互相猜忌和倾轧、海运和商业衰落不堪、必需品的制造萎靡不振、土地和农产品价值普遍下降、个人与公共信念遭到鄙视、对外交往事务欠审慎以致对外信誉丧失,这一切终于出现了种种不满、仇恨、结帮、偏激的集会和骚乱,预示着一场全国性浩劫的到来。(各地人民不断爆发起义,规模最大的是1786-1787年由贫农出身,参加过独立战争的军人谢斯领导的马萨诸塞州农民起义。这些起义促使美国建立起强有力的联邦政府。)

在此危急时刻,美国人并没有失去惯有的良知、镇静、决心和正直。他们想方设法共谋大计,以便组成更完善的联邦,确立公理正义,保障国内安定,提供共同防御,促进公共福利和保障自由幸福。通过公众的一系列研究、讨论和斟酌,才产生了目前这部令人满意的宪法。

在这一转折的整个过程中,由于我在国外执行公务,所以在异邦第一次见到了合众国宪法。我以极大的喜悦阅读了这部宪法,我既不围绕宪法措辞的争吵而激怒,也不为公开辩论而激动,更不为党派仇恨而激愤。我认为,这部宪法是襟怀坦荡的有识之士的作品,它是胜过迄今任何其他提议或建议的一种试验,它更能适合这个美国和美国人民的才能、性格、环境和

particular, had contributed to establish. Claiming a right of suffrage, in common with my fellow-citizens, in the adoption or rejection of a constitution which was to rule me and my posterity, as well as them and theirs, I did not hesitate to express my approbation of it on all occasions, in public and in private. It was not then, nor has been since, any objection to it in my mind that the Executive and Senate were not more permanent. Nor have I ever entertained a thought of promoting any alteration in it but such as the people themselves, in the course of their experience, should see and feel to be necessary or expedient, and by their representatives in Congress and the State legislatures, according to the Constitution itself, adopt and ordain.

Returning to the bosom of my country after a painful separation from it for ten years, I had the honor to be elected to a station under the new order of things, and I have repeatedly laid myself under the most serious obligations to support the Constitution. The operation of it has equaled the most sanguine expectations of its friends, and from an habitual attention to it, satisfaction in its administration, and delight in its effects upon the peace, order, prosperity, and happiness of the nation I have acquired an habitual attachment to it and veneration for it.

各种关系。就这部宪法的总则和总纲而言,它与我迄今最推崇的政府体制相一致,而且某些州,尤其是我的出生地所在州,为确立这种体制作出了贡献。我与公民们一样有权投票决定是否采纳这部宪法,因为它将要管束我和我的后代,管束同胞们及其他的后代。我毫不犹豫地赞同这部宪法,不管在公众场合,还是私下里。无论在当时还是此后,我都不认为行政部门和参议院不能维持长久的想法。我也从未想过要促成修改宪法,除非人民经过多年实践经验看到和感到有必要或暂时有必要进行修改,并通过他们的国会和州议会代表根据宪法本身的精神予以采纳或作出规定。

在与祖国痛苦地分别了10年后,我又回到了她的怀抱,并有幸在一片新气象中当选就职。(亚当斯于1778年起长期在法国、荷兰和英国从事外交活动,1788年回国并当选副总统,他就任此职的日期[1789年4月21日]比华盛顿就任总统早9天。)我不断地投身到支持宪法的最庄严的义务之中。宪法的实施没有辜负拥护者们的最乐观的期望。由于我习以为常地关注宪法,对宪法的实施感到满意,而且宪法对国家的和平、秩序、繁荣和幸福等方面产生的作用使我感到喜悦,因此,我一如既往地对象热爱和崇敬。

What other form of government, indeed, can so well deserve our esteem and love?

There may be little solidity in an ancient idea that congregations of men into cities and nations are the most pleasing objects in the sight of superior intelligences, but this is very certain, that to a benevolent human mind there can be no spectacle presented by any nation more pleasing, more noble, majestic, or august, than an assembly like that which has so often been seen in this and the other Chamber of Congress, of a Government in which the Executive authority, as well as that of all the branches of the Legislature, are exercised by citizens selected at regular periods by their neighbors to make and execute laws for the general good. Can anything essential, anything more than mere ornament and decoration, be added to this by robes and diamonds? Can authority be more amiable and respectable when it descends from accidents or institutions established in remote antiquity than when it springs fresh from the hearts and judgments of an honest and enlightened people? For it is the people only that are represented. It is their power and majesty that is reflected, and only for their good, in every legitimate government, under whatever form it may appear. The existence of such a government as ours for any length of time is a full proof of a general dissemination of knowledge and virtue throughout the whole body of the people. And what object or consideration more pleasing than this can be presented to the human mind? If national pride is ever justifiable or excusable it is when it springs, not from power or riches, grandeur or glory, but from conviction of national innocence, information, and benevolence.

确实,还有其他什么形式的政体能值得我们如此尊敬和热爱呢?

古代有一种似乎不甚严密的概念,即从圣哲的眼光来看,人类聚集而形成城市和国家,乃是最令人感到愉快的目标;但无可置疑的是,在仁慈者的心目中,任何国家所显示的情景都比不上我们这个政府的会议更令人感到喜悦、高尚、庄严和受人尊敬,这样的会议在国会两院屡见不鲜,而政府的行政权和国会各个机构的立法权,是经过定期选举的公民来行使的,是为公众利益而制订和执行法律的。难道皇袍和钻石能为此增添实质性的东西吗?难道它们不只是些装饰品吗?难道通过偶然继承或远古制度而继承的权力,会比诚实而有见识的人民凭借觉悟和判断而产生的权力更可亲可敬吗?这样的政府唯一代表的是人民。它的每个合法机构,无论表现为何种形式,反映的都是人民的权利和尊严,并且只为人民谋利益。像我们这样的政府,不论存在多久,都是知识和美德在全人类传播的充分证明。难道还有比这更令人喜悦的目标或设想能奉献给人类观念吗?如果说民族的自豪感是正当的情有可原的,那么这种自豪感必须不是来自权势或财富,不是来自豪华和荣耀,而是唯独来自坚信民族的纯真、见识和仁爱。

In the midst of these pleasing ideas we should be unfaithful to ourselves if we should ever lose sight of the danger to our liberties if anything partial or extraneous should infect the purity of our free, fair, virtuous, and independent elections. If an election is to be determined by a majority of a single vote, and that can be procured by a party through artifice or corruption, the Government may be the choice of a party for its own ends, not of the nation for the national good. If that solitary suffrage can be obtained by foreign nations by flattery or menaces, by fraud or violence, by terror, intrigue, or venality, the Government may not be the choice of the American people, but of foreign nations. It may be foreign nations who govern us, and not we, the people, who govern ourselves; and candid men will acknowledge that in such cases choice would have little advantage to boast of over lot or chance.

Such is the amiable and interesting system of government (and such are some of the abuses to which it may be exposed) which the people of America have exhibited to the admiration and anxiety of the wise and virtuous of all nations for eight years under the administration of a citizen who, by a long course of great actions, regulated by prudence, justice, temperance, and fortitude, conducting a people inspired with the same virtues and animated with the same ardent patriotism and love of liberty to independence and peace, to increasing wealth and unexampled prosperity, has merited the gratitude

当我们沉浸在这些令人愉快的想法时,如果任何片面和枝节问题影响了我们纯洁的、自由的、公平的、公正的和独立的选举,使我们竟视而不见自由所面临的危险,我们就会自欺欺人。如果选举中出现了一票之差将决定谁赢得多数票的局面,而一个政党可以通过耍诡计和搞腐败来达到目的,那么这个政府就有可能成为政党为自身目的而作出的选择,而不是国家为人民利益而作出的选择。如果其他国家有可能通过奉承、威胁、欺骗、暴力、恐怖、阴谋或收买等手段获得这张独特的选票,那么这个政府就可能不是美国人民作出的选择,而是其他国家作出的选择。那样,就可能是外国统治我们,而不是我们人民来自己管理自己。在这种情况下,公正的人士就会认识到,选择胜于命运或机遇的优越性就所剩无几和不值得夸耀了。

这就是使人感到亲切的有趣的政治体制(及其可能暴露的某些弊端)。八年来,美国人民在一位公民的执政下展示了这种政治体制,引起了各国贤达的赞赏和渴望。这位公民(指华盛顿总统)为人谨慎、公正、节制、坚韧,长期以来他以一系列伟大的行动,领导着一个为共同美德所鼓舞的、为共同强烈的爱国心所激励的和热爱自由的民族,